

# America

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

## BRITISH SOCIALISM IN TRANSITION



### British Socialists' new thinking

*Old doctrines shatter against postwar realities*

DOUGLAS HYDE

### Lord Pakenham's call to Catholics

*Catholics have what Labor's leaders seek*

PAUL HENDERSON

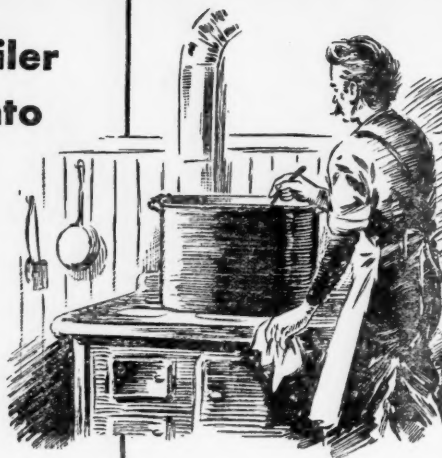


Democratic Convention  
Crisis for the Red Cross  
Holy Office on sacred art  
Mexican elections

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PURVEYORS TO THE VATICAN BY APPOINTMENT

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### The Chicago compromises

The Democrats convened in Chicago last week with all but a few of their leaders bent on avoiding the bitterness that had marked the GOP conclave two weeks earlier. The wreckage of that battle was still in evidence, a strong inducement to caution, compromise, unity. As the Democrats gathered in the Taftite Middle West stronghold, they found it still seething. The Chicago *Tribune* continued to rage at the Republican nominee almost as violently as it does against Truman and the Democrats. Some Taftites were advising key Democrats that vast numbers of Republicans were so bitter over the Eisenhower-Dewey victory that they intended to vote Democratic or sit on their hands next November. Veteran political observers said they had never seen anything quite like the post-convention anger of Taft's Chicago followers. The lesson was not lost on the Democratic leaders. They set out to compose their differences in private, to avoid party-splitting floor-fights. The great compromiser was reported to be Illinois National Committeeman Jacob M. Arvey, who seems never to have wavered in his belief that he could deliver his candidate, Governor Adlai Stevenson, at the strategic moment. As of July 24 it appeared that his compromise slate of Stevenson and Russell, Fulbright or Sparkman would be accepted in order to present a united front in November. How far the leaders would go to win that unity became evident when the platform was disclosed. The drafters had backed away from a compulsory FEPC and from anti-filibuster legislation. When the document was accepted by a voice vote, it appeared that the compromisers had saved party unity—perhaps at the price of voter appeal.

### New papal statement on economics

Neither the advocates of free enterprise, pre-1933 style, nor the proponents of all-out planning, will find much comfort in the letter which the Holy Father addressed to Charles Flory, President of the French *Semaines Sociales* on July 7. According to news reports based on the text of the letter as published in the *Osservatore Romano* on July 22, the Pope rejected the notion, so popular among U. S. reactionaries, that the distribution of the national income can be left to the "free play of blind economic forces." Like his predecessors, Leo XIII and Pius XI, the Holy Father insisted that the state has the right and duty to intervene in the market process, to prevent unjust inequalities—which, despite some improvement, remain "intolerable" to Christian consciences—and to promote a fair distribution of the income from production. This intervention, however, must not be of such a kind or extent as to hamper unduly individual initiative or to destroy private property. The correct approach, the Holy Father wrote, is "equidistant from the errors of liberalism and statism." With regard to closer relations between labor and management, the Holy Father asked: "Why should it not be legitimate to give workers a just share of responsibility in establishing and

## CURRENT COMMENT

developing the (national) economy?" From the news reports it is difficult to say exactly what sort of co-management the Pope is here referring to, just as it is impossible to know what are the "institutions" which, according to the letter, have been trying for some years "to correct the most flagrant ills that result from a too mechanical distribution of national revenue." Whatever they are, the Holy Father regards them as a most significant and hopeful development. As soon as the text of this obviously important letter reaches us, we shall comment on it at greater length.

### President signs bills

When the 82nd Congress closed shop on July 7, it left behind for President Truman's consideration nearly 350 bills. For the peppy, 68-year old occupant of the White House—who had ten days under the law, Sundays excepted, to act on the bills—the job would ordinarily have been scarcely more than a good workout. It turned out to be more than that. No sooner had the President got down to serious work than, like ordinary mortals, he was smitten with a virus infection and hustled off to Walter Reed Hospital. There he remained for three days, busily working, it appears, most of the time. At any rate, when the deadline dawned on July 19, his desk was clear. Included in the batch of measures which he approved were most of the appropriation bills. In line with its recent practice, Congress had delayed acting on them until the very last minute. The President said nothing about this procrastination but he did scold Congress for unwise and false economies in defense and foreign aid. Neither did the virus infection prevent him, as he approved amendments to the Social Security Act, from leveling a blast at the Republican minority for dancing to the tune of the American Medical Association (AM. 5/31, p. 241). He was similarly alert to the political possibilities in a bill continuing high farm parity prices through 1954. Signing the bill, the President observed that the farmers could now boost production with complete peace of soul. Also approved was a watered-down mine safety bill which gives the Federal Government limited powers to close dangerous mines. It was the best bill the reactionary Republican-Southern Democrat coalition in the House was willing to pass.

### **New life for fair trade**

One of the bills which the President signed—the McGuire bill—came as a happy surprise to the embattled fair traders (*AM.* 5/24, p. 214). As the bill went through the congressional machinery, word went around that Mr. Truman was opposed to it. Certainly a good many Administration bigwigs, especially in the anti-trust agencies, made no bones about their opposition. So far as we recall, only Secretary of Commerce Sawyer took a public stand on the fair traders' side. That is why the wise money in Washington had been betting on a pocket veto, and why the President's action was such a welcome surprise to fair traders. In signing the bill, Mr. Truman made it clear, however, that he did so with considerable doubt and misgiving. "We have not yet found the best solution," he said, "for the problem this legislation is intended to solve." The problem the President referred to is the knotty one of banning "cutthroat competition" without destroying competition itself. If manufacturers seriously police fair-trade agreements, which oblige retailers not to sell below a fixed minimum price, the McGuire bill will certainly stop a lot of cutthroat competition. The difficulty is, as Mr. Truman sees it, that it may also have the effect of "removing some competitive forces which otherwise would operate to keep prices down." Over this problem the fair traders last week were losing no sleep at all. With the McGuire bill restoring to fair-trade contracts most of the teeth which the Supreme Court had knocked out in the celebrated Schwegmann decision, they were busy renewing the many agreements that had been allowed to lapse. Now it is again the law of the land that even retailers who refuse to sign minimum resale price contracts are bound by any agreement which a manufacturer may sign with their competitors. If they cut prices, the manufacturer can hale them into court.

### **Labor and politics in Germany**

In spite of bitter Socialist opposition, a bill to extend co-determination to industries other than coal and steel, where it is already in operation, was pushed through its third reading by the Adenauer Government on July 19. The bill, which gives labor a share in management along with capital, also drew heavy fire from the West German Trade Union Federation.

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The Federation wants more influence for workers in determining industry policy, and a place for union officials, as well as for employee representatives, on management boards. Negotiations reached a stalemate when the Government refused to yield to the Federation demand that co-determination be extended also to public services. Discussions ended and the bill was passed in spite of dark hints from the Socialists in the Bundestag that the WGTUF would take its six million members out on strike. From this distance it looks as though there may be some truth to the reports that the Socialist politicians are putting pressure on their followers within the unions to back Socialist political moves with the threat of a strike. If that is so, we can look for a resurgence of the old labor feud between the Socialist and Christian forces in the trade-union movement. After the Hitler defeat and the rebirth of free unions, the century-old division disappeared when, with the encouragement of the Americans and the British, the Socialists and Christians decided to unite on the basis of bread-and-butter unionism, with politics rigorously excluded. Present developments give cause to wonder how long that unity will last.

### **Student exchanges grow**

Even in the best days of the medieval universities was there ever such an extensive and fruitful movement of professors and students as that which this country has stimulated since the war? Last week the German Federal Republic joined the long list of nations with which the United States has organized student exchanges. An agreement was signed in Bonn on July 18 by Chancellor Adenauer and outgoing U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy. For at least the next five years \$1 million will be available annually to enable from 200 to 250 students, professors and research scholars to come to the United States for a year, and a like number of young Americans to go to Western Germany. This program supplants, or supplements, existing scholarship programs supported by the State Department and by private institutions on both sides of the water. Presumably the student phase of the new program will be administered by the Institute of International Education, a private foundation with which many Catholic universities have actively cooperated by granting scholarships and otherwise facilitating the exchanges. There is every prospect that the movement will continue as a solid permanent investment in international understanding and good will.

### **Scripta manent . . .**

The publication of a diary can bring immortal fame—as it did to Samuel Pepys. It can bring a court-martial, as it did to General Robert W. Grow, former U. S. military attaché in Moscow, charged with negligence for allowing his diary to fall into the hands of Soviet agents. It can also bring some very red faces to topflight Communists in Paris and Moscow, as happened recently when an enterprising journalist laid



news-hungry hands on some private jottings made by Jacques Duclos, acting head of the French Communist party. When M. Duclos was apprehended by the gendarmes on May 28 at the height of the Ridgway riots in Paris and clapped into jail, a search of his person disclosed a diary that was hotter than a firecracker. In his little book, Duclos had jotted down the uninhibited remarks of party leaders at secret meetings. He recorded, among other things, that the party worked for the "certain defeat" of the French Army in Indo-China. How *Figaro*, leading Parisian daily, managed to see the diary, which was in possession of the police, has not been revealed, but the fact that it did see it is incontestable. Though the pained M. Duclos did bluster that the quotations headlined by *Figaro* were garbled, their authenticity appears to be unquestionable. The significance of this journalistic scoop does not lie in any revelation that the French Communist party is opposed to the war in Indo-China. There has never been any secret about that. Its real significance is the proof it furnishes, if any is needed, that Duclos and his gang are traitors to France, actively working for the defeat of the French Army. The day is past when Stalin could take over France by long-distance telephone, but the Duclos diary makes it abundantly clear that the telephone lines are still open for business.

#### Iran: rule of unreason

July was indeed a mad month in Iran. When the new Parliament assembled, July 5, Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, offering a routine resignation, was prepared to take office again. He forecast a policy of stiff taxes and severe government economy to restore the almost bankrupt exchequer. Confirmed after five days' haggling, Mossadegh asked for dictatorial powers for six months. This the Shah opposed, as he did Mossadegh's proposal to become Minister of War. Mossadegh resigned on July 17, and the Shah asked veteran statesman Ahmad Ghavam es Sultaneh to form a government. Ghavam's first statement was that he would seek a peaceful settlement with Britain on the long and bitter dispute over nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. On July 19 severe rioting by Mossadegh's Nationalists broke out and spread rapidly, with the Communists lending a helping hand. Unable to suppress the rioting, and faced with a Nationalist threat of a general strike, Ghavam resigned on July 21 and Mossadegh returned to power. (Ironically enough, on July 22, the World Court at the Hague handed Mossadegh a legal victory by denying it had jurisdiction of Britain's suit against Iran on the oil nationalization.) The Shah and the moderates in Iran underestimated Mossadegh's popular following and the fanaticism he is able to arouse. They thought he had overreached himself by asking for dictatorial powers and that it would be safe to supersede him. The upshot is that the rule of unreason has returned to unhappy Iran.

#### MEXICAN ELECTIONS

On Sunday, July 6, the Mexicans elected their President and Congress. The balloting went on with 70,000 soldiers of the regular army alerted and waiting for a call to trouble. In Mexico City, as military planes flew overhead and troops in trucks, armored cars and light tanks rumbled through the streets, 7,000 police carefully watched proceedings. Under the circumstances, the election was orderly, but on Monday a four-hour riot in the capital left several dead and a score injured.

It is a truism in Mexican politics that, short of a revolution, the ruling party always wins the election. Consequently, there is no doubt about the identity of the winning candidate even though the official results have yet to be published. The Party of Revolutionary Institutions (PRI), in control of the election machinery, buttressed by the army, supported by organized labor and the bureaucracy, has been in power since 1934. Under Miguel Alemán, the present incumbent, the party won the confidence of business and industry without alienating the powerful unions which have been its chief strength. Its candidate (and the next President) is Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, whose campaign formula was "more of the same."

Meanwhile, two of the defeated candidates refuse to accept the verdict. One of these, Lombardo Tolezano, bases his claim to victory on the presumed votes of over a million people who came to hear him speak. He admits to being a Marxist but not a Communist. Nevertheless, he drew the support of the Mexican Communist party, which did not get enough petitions to put a candidate on the ballot. At this writing, Tolezano does not seem much of a threat to the *status quo*. He has lost the control of major Mexican labor unions which once made him powerful.

The other candidate who disputes the issue is a retired general, Miguel Henríquez Guzmán, now a millionaire roadbuilder. It was some of his adherents who were involved in the post-election riot in Mexico City. General Henríquez draws his following from agrarian and leftist elements who claim that the present Government, interested in industrialism, has forgotten the peasant. Some of the old *caciques* or regional political bosses, such as ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas, are said to support him. Opposition from this quarter may be serious.

The only defeated candidate to retire gracefully is Efraín González Luna, who is backed by the Catholic intellectuals of the National Action Party. This group has concentrated its efforts on securing more seats in Congress. At present it holds the only four seats not controlled by the Government. With this slight voice, Mexican Catholics can only hope that the present Government policy of the *mano tendida* (the friendly hand) will continue to give them a tenuous protection against the vigorous anti-Catholic provisions of the Mexican Constitution, whose enforcement at a given moment could renew the persecution of the Church.

PAUL S. LIETZ

## WASHINGTON FRONT

A national political convention, by 1952 definition, is an assembly in which men busily set about being surly and defiant, attack one another's motives, charge bad faith, make bitter little speeches and yet, somehow rising above the carnage, finally adopt some principles, choose a leader, sing "God Bless America" and crawl home bruised and battered.

The Democrats, meeting last, were even more torn and divided than the Republicans, who two weeks ago nominated Dwight Eisenhower for the presidency. There were some differences in the GOP as between the isolationists and internationalists, but mostly the division there was on the basis of picking a candidate—the Taft men against the Eisenhower men. Before it ended, a lot of feelings were hurt and party leaders went home wondering whether anyone could put the pieces back together in time for a fair shot at November victory. But that was a mere airy little tiff compared to the cleavage among Democrats.

Actually, three elements were present in this second convention—the unyielding Southern conservatives led by James F. Byrnes and Harry F. Byrd; a Northern liberal wing with such spokesmen as Senator Hubert Humphrey, Franklin Roosevelt Jr. and Senator Herbert Lehman; and an in-between moderate group. This latter was made up largely of Northern, big-city leaders, probably more sympathetic to the Northern liberals than to the South, yet insistent on finding a compromise which would hold the Southerners in the party. This group seemed to be in firm control of the convention.

Until one or the other of the extreme groups leaves the party or is won over—and the basic political, social and economic differences seem almost to defy reconciliation—every Democratic National Convention will be a scene of bitter conflict. The Northern liberals believe labor rightfully should have its place in the party. The Southerners protest against "domination by the union bosses." The Southerners want to nominate for President one of their own: as the party is constituted today that can't happen. The civil-rights issue may find a compromise in platform verbiage but not in the minds of men dead set against any yielding.

Many Southern Democratic leaders came here hoping to avoid the rupture that marked the Dixiecraft split-off in 1948; the history of bolters is that they fare ill. Some Northern leaders at the same time wanted no lasting division which would jeopardize the battle against the GOP in November. Yet the whole show here revived all the old argument about the need for party realignment in America. Maybe, by slow process, it's on the way—but nobody can see clearly just how it's to come about.

CHARLES LUCEY

## UNDERSCORINGS

The first ordination of a Catholic priest in Denmark since 1536 took place June 29 in Aalborg, Jutland, reports the Danish Information Office, New York, in a July 18 release. Most Rev. Theodor Suhr, Catholic Primate of Denmark, ordained Rev. Paul D'Auchamp. Fr. D'Auchamp had studied for six years at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, on a scholarship provided by Cardinal Spellman and with assistance from St. Ansagar's Catholic Scandinavian League.

► Dr. Paul S. Lietz, who contributes columns on Latin American affairs to *AMERICA*, was appointed, on July 17, chairman of the History Department of Loyola University, Chicago. He succeeds Rev. Joseph Roubik, S.J., who had held the post since 1933.

► The International Catholic Migration Commission, set up in Geneva in 1951, has opened in Buenos Aires the first of a world network of regional offices. In charge of the Buenos Aires office will be Roberto Marcenaro-Boutell, ICMC representative for Latin America. He will look after the interests of immigrants, facilitate the reunion of separated families and study the possibility of further immigration to South America's unoccupied territories.

► At a meeting of British and Irish Catholic physicians' guilds, reports NC News Service in a July 14 dispatch from Dublin, Dr. Alfred O'Rahilly, president of University College, Cork, warned medical men against infringing the natural rights of the family and subjecting marital relations to arbitrary interference. To do so, he said, would be to claim for themselves "powers which they would inconsistently deny to the state." Hence, he concluded, they would "deprive themselves of the strongest argument against their being turned into state employees commissioned to direct and inspect mother and child."

► Yale Divinity School will offer next fall, in cooperation with New Haven station WNHC-TV, an experimental course in religious television. The course, says Religious News Service for July 23, will include lectures, seminars and laboratory work in the station. Topics covered will include the communication of Christian principles through TV; use of mass communication media by enemies of religion; analysis of available audiences and suitable subjects; creative writing; program policy, etc.

► Catholic Bible Week, Sept. 28-Oct. 5, will this year commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Gutenberg Bible, the first book to be printed from movable type. The week is sponsored by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Catholic Biblical Association of America. Forty dioceses in the United States, Hawaii and Alaska are planning suitable celebrations. Seventy radio stations will carry special biblical programs.

C. K.

## ***Ferment in the Labor party***

After nearly a year in office, the Churchill Government can scarcely be said to have furnished that dynamic leadership which the tired people of Britain needed and which conservatives the world over confidently expected of it. To a considerable extent this failure is due to circumstances over which no political party these days has any effective control. The realities of rearmament and the cold war cannot be changed by speeches in Parliament or by policy decisions from 10 Downing Street, and neither can the chaotic economic condition left by two world wars.

Despite the understandable longings of the British people for an easier life, the hard, unspectacular job of belt-tightening, initiated by the Labor party, must be resolutely pursued. To the threat of national insolvency there is no answer except hard work and the boosting of exports at the expense of British consumers. For reasons too involved to be analyzed here, that means continued high tax rates and a complex of controls binding on business and individuals alike.

Though the Conservative party is largely the victim of circumstances—and hence not to be blamed for failing to blow a breath of fresh air across Britain—the electorate is beginning to lose patience with it. Recent reports from abroad suggest that if new elections were to be held tomorrow, the Labor party would easily ride back to power. Even Conservatives have become critical of Mr. Churchill's leadership. Some of them are privately conceding that the party must be rejuvenated not only in its leadership, but even more in its policies and philosophy.

If then the immediate future would seem to lie with Labor, the program of Clement Attlee's party assumes vast importance for the Western world. That is the justification, if any is needed, for publishing this week two full-length articles, by Douglas Hyde and Paul Henderson, on the present status of the Labor party and its future prospects.

Americans are generally aware that for the past two years Aneurin Bevan has been challenging Messrs. Attlee, Morrison and Gaitskell for the party leadership. What they may not sufficiently appreciate is that this struggle is no ordinary political Donnybrook, with prestige and patronage alone at stake. After six years in power, it has become evident to the more thoughtful Laborites that the party, like its Conservative rival, has run out of steam. So far as domestic policy is concerned, it has incorporated into law the substance of its historic program. What else does it have to offer the people? Furthermore, complicating the issue, there is a growing doubt about the soundness of key parts of the old program, which, in practice, do not seem to bear out their theoretical promise. The nationalization of industry, as Mr. Hyde emphasizes, is a case in point. Though the state now owns the steel plants, the steelworkers do not feel notably emancipated, and neither do the coal diggers in the nationalized mines.

## **EDITORIALS**

Should Mr. Bevan come to power, the Labor party would probably push further along the collectivist road, hoping blindly that in the process the freedom of the individual and local autonomy might somehow be saved. Such a policy, roughly speaking, would correspond to the Marxist, or minority, stream in traditional Labor thought. If the Attlee-Morrison-Gaitskell group remains in power, we can look for something new, something, perhaps, that would emphasize the "personalist" element in social life without relapsing into the discredited individualism of nineteenth-century capitalism. That would reflect the Christian current in Labor history, which, as our British correspondents testify, is showing signs of new life.

In an address to the Federal Bar Association three years ago in Washington, the late Sir Stafford Cripps, one of Labor's most distinguished leaders, criticized the contemporary tendency to embrace purely material expedients as an escape from the difficulties and perplexities of our times. The only hope that remains to us, he insisted, was recourse to the spirit; if our civilization was to be saved, that could come about "not by our material ingenuity, but by our moral strength." On the general recognition of this truth, with all its practical consequences for policy, rests, we believe, the only lasting future the Labor party has. Such is the saving element which Lord Pakenham and his colleagues are laudably striving to add to the ferment everywhere bubbling today in Labor circles.

## ***Crisis for the Red Cross***

If the Good Samaritan were a delegate to the Eighteenth International Red Cross Conference that opened July 23 in Toronto—the first meeting since the 1948 sessions at Stockholm—he would find to his dismay that the simple, merciful task of pouring oil upon the wounds of afflicted victims of war has become since his time so beset with political complications as to menace the future of the humanitarian ideal.

The political complications were guaranteed the day it was announced that a delegation from the Soviet Union would attend the conference. Before the delegates had even arrived in the Canadian city, Moscow had already set the stage for an active propaganda campaign. This was to be expected, of course, since the theme of humanitarian conduct of war offers an ideal occasion for the Communists to press their "germ-war" charges against the United States. These have figured as item number one in Soviet



propaganda for the past many months. It can be taken for granted that the Russians and their stooges will exploit the failure of the United States to ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925, outlawing the use of bacteriological weapons. This country will be challenged to make up for that omission now. The fact that the Red China delegation is headed by Mrs. Li Te-chuan, who is chairman of the Mission for the Investigation of American Imperialist Crimes of Bacteriological Warfare, is sufficient clue to the Communist program at Toronto.

The conference makes no political or ideological distinctions and is admitting representatives of both North and South Korea, of Red and Nationalist China, as well as of East and West Germany. It is not a government-sponsored, but a private, show, although governments are entitled to participate. The organizations sponsoring the Toronto conference are the National Red Cross societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross societies—all nongovernmental groups which set their own policies.

Answering protests against the apparently indiscriminate admission of delegates, a Canadian Red Cross executive told a correspondent of the *Ensign*, Catholic news weekly, that this was necessary in order to avoid complete frustration of the Red Cross mission. For example, said this spokesman, "it is quite conceivable that war might break out between the two Chinese factions. If that happened, it would be important that both parties should consider themselves bound by the Geneva Conventions."

Although, as we have said, governments also may participate in the Red Cross Conference, it has been announced in Washington that the State Department will be represented at Toronto only by an observer (without vote). According to reports this decision was prompted by the urgings of Switzerland and other countries, which fear that an open clash with the Soviet Union could lead to the destruction of the International Red Cross and render impossible its humanitarian effort. This strategy may not please everyone, but it is a sample of what the Red Cross must do, or rather, descend to, in order to keep alive the Samaritan's single-minded purpose to be the "neighbor" for stricken mankind along the many roads to Jericho.

## Holy office on sacred art

The Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office on church architecture and sacred art, published in the *Osservatore Romano* on July 18, will awaken discussion and serve for inspiring study in the months that lie ahead. For ultimately, as the *Osservatore* remarked July 19, its effects "should reach even the smallest mountain chapel." It is not, we should observe, an isolated document; nor, again, is it primarily negative. It has the encouraging spirit and tone of utterances of the recent Pontiffs, Pius X and

Pius XI, and of the present Pontiff, Pius XII, in his encyclical on the liturgy (1947).

Well-informed Catholics will not have failed to note—since they have been widely exploited in the secular press—some of those instances of "corrupt and errant forms in sacred art" that offer partial occasion for the Instruction. The criticism directed at these extravagances will find a warm echo in the truly Catholic heart. What may prove of greater interest and encouragement in the United States, however, is the urgent admonition that Ordinaries "severely forbid second-rate and stereotyped statues and effigies to be multiplied" for Church use. There is a sense, certainly, in which this prescription strikes close to home.

Church architecture, the Instruction tells us, "must always perform its own office, which regards the house of God and the house of prayer." "New styles" should be characterized by a "simple beauty of lines," shorn of "deceitful adornment," and betraying nothing that "savours of neglect of art or want of pains." Sacred descriptive art "has its own ends, its own proper function . . . to enhance the beauty of the house of God and to foster faith and piety." Consequently, in the words of Blessed Pius X, which the Instruction cites:

Nothing should have place in the Church which disturbs or even diminishes the piety of the faithful, which might reasonably be considered in bad taste or a cause of scandal, which might be unworthy of the house of prayer and the majesty of God.

The Instruction recalls Pius XI's words at the opening of the new Vatican Gallery of Paintings in 1932. The Church, said the Pope, seeks to

open wide the portals and tender sincere welcome to every good and progressive development of approved and venerable traditions which, in so many centuries of Christian life, in such diversity of circumstances and of social and ethnic conditions, have given stupendous proof of their inexhaustible capacity to inspire new and beautiful forms . . . under the twofold light of genius and faith.

The true Catholic artist distinguishes well between genuine traditions and mere conventions. As he does so, he discovers a wonderfully inspiring field open for his cultivation. He finds full scope for originality of conception and of execution, for new materials and new techniques. But the work of Catholic art demands more than mere technique, or mere virtuosity. It demands an understanding of symbolism, in the broadest human sense of that term. Above all, it calls for an understanding of the Christian faith that will warm and enlighten the artist's mind and heart, and fill his soul with an inspiring sense of human dignity, and a profound humility before the mystery of divine love.

The Instruction certainly touches what has been, for the past decade or more, a delicate and disturbing nerve in our developing contemporary Catholic art. But the touch is surgical, curative, encouraging.



# British Socialists' new thinking

Douglas Hyde

IN BRITAIN at this moment there is occurring one of the most remarkable developments in political history. The leaders of the great, millions-strong Labor party, which is in turn the political arm of still more millions organized in the trade-union movement, are in process of visibly discarding the aims, philosophy and vision which were the very basis of the party's life and, still more remarkable, are keeping up a running commentary on the process.

We are observing the spectacle of a highly ideological party consciously losing its ideology. For all the leaders of this great Socialist party, with the exception of the group around Aneurin Bevan, are shedding their socialism as a caterpillar sheds its skin.

It is a fascinating spectacle, but to the Catholic it is one which presents itself as a strange compound of very real danger and tremendous opportunity. For a political vacuum is being created right in the heart of the movement, which someone before long is going to fill. It may be filled by the neo-Marxist Aneurin Bevan. It could be filled by Christian social thinkers, with Catholics in the lead. Whatever the outcome, the present occasion is a turning point in British political history and is full of lessons of profound importance to all who seek to follow political events.

## THE LABOR PARTY

The Labor Party is a federation of affiliated trade unions, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, local Labor parties responsible for running its political campaigns and fighting its elections, and various propagandist Socialist bodies.

Its Parliamentary origins were Liberal, and for years representatives of labor formed a group within the once-powerful Liberal party. They broke away and, along with a variety of small Socialist organizations, formed the Labor party. By 1918 that party had been officially committed to a British brand of non-revolutionary socialism, very largely owing to the activities of the Fabian Society, of which George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and Sidney and Beatrice Webb were outstanding members. While standing for the "social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange," they also insisted upon what Sidney Webb called "the inevitability of gradualness."

About the latter point there was some disagreement, for there were Marxists in the party, too, of various shades of orthodoxy. They were anxious to win it away from the influences which owed their origins mainly to Nonconformity and toward revolutionary

*This article and the following one, which deal with the British Labor party's present swing away from old Socialist doctrines and the opportunity thus given to Catholics, complement and perhaps slightly overlap each other. In 1948, Mr. Hyde transferred his allegiance from the Communist party to the Catholic Church, his writing abilities from the London Daily Worker to the London Catholic Herald.*

policies. All were agreed that socialism meant at least the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The dreamers, who prepared the way for the politicians, made themselves the spokesmen of the wretched of the earth, the self-appointed voice of the great proletarian movement against privilege. Their aim was a society in which there was more equality, more liberty, more good fellowship. Social ownership was to be the means of achieving these goals. But soon the politicians were transforming the means into an end. Nationalization, the method, became the goal. For millions, socialism came to mean nationalization.

Upon nationalization as its foundation the British Labor movement was built up until it became the largest in the world. It took fifty years to build. And it has taken fifty years, too, to demonstrate, not just to the hostile world, but to a majority of its own leaders, that political realities call for the total abandonment of nationalization as the great goal of British socialism.

## NEW THINKING

I sat the other night in the House of Commons talking to one of Labor's former Cabinet Ministers. "It was grand in the old days," he said. "We stood on street corners telling the workers that nationalization would bring them new justice, new responsibilities, a new world." Wistfully he added: "I loved every minute of it."

Then, without a trace of cynicism he went on: "But the trouble is we've had six and a half years of power since then, and we've found that nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange is not the magic answer to every problem we once thought it was."

A tired, comfortable individual who has lost his youthful dreams by the natural process of growing old and less headstrong? No, a typical top-level British Labor leader, one of the party bosses, saying what almost all his colleagues are now saying, some in private, others in public.

In a dark, dusty, dismal little room at the top of still darker, dustier and more dismal stairs, in an old building a few hundred yards from the House of Commons, a serious-faced little man recently sold me a yellow-covered 64-page pamphlet called *Socialism: A New Statement of Principles*. It was issued by a body calling itself the "Socialist Union." Herbert Morrison, former Labor Foreign Secretary and the most powerful man in the party machine, had told

me it was due for publication. It was backed by Morgan Phillips, the party's general secretary, and carried a foreword by an executive member of the party. Clement Atlee was speaking on it in London that very night. There is therefore no doubt about its top-level backing.

This mid-twentieth-century Socialist pamphlet, unlike those of fifty years ago, does not proclaim nationalization as the cure for all society's many ills. Its opening chapter heading tells its own story, for it is "The Creed of Yesterday." That first chapter, in a sense, closed a chapter in the life of the party, a chapter which it took the Socialist movement fifty years to write.

Harking back to those days, it says: "The central belief of Socialists was that through some form of collectivism the just and good society would be established. To different people collectivism meant different things, but for most it embodied the idea of common ownership of land and capital . . ."

Then comes the next tell-tale heading: "The Challenge of Events." There is a sadder-but-wiser flavor about the assertion that "popular opinion tended to think of socialism too exclusively in terms of nationalization, as though this in itself would suffice to usher in the millennium . . . It has become clear that the mere act of nationalization does not automatically change industrial and social relations in the direction we desire."

For the Socialists to have turned their back on state ownership as the cure-all is sensational. But perhaps even more fundamental to British Socialist teaching was the belief in state control. Here again we get the same sadder-but-wiser second thoughts: "Their earlier beliefs," says the pamphlet, "usually led Socialists to struggle for an increase in the powers of the state. Today they are less certain."

An inevitable consequence of Socialist thought, and one which has led to much Catholic criticism, has been its emphasis on the good of the masses rather than that of the individual. Our Socialist "new thinkers" now see that the Socialist society which they planned has in practice become a managerial society. "There are many," says the booklet,

who say that our aim should be decentralization, for we are all becoming aware that the concentration of economic and political power in the same hands may, in the absence of measures to avert its dangers, be a threat to the freedom and independence of the individual. His very existence becomes more and more dependent upon forces which, by their nature, are inclined to sacrifice him for the sake of the "collective good."

That line is so familiar to Catholics that it may seem unsensational. But for it to come from the Socialists, against whom that very criticism has so often been leveled, represents a quite remarkable change.

The conclusion of the pamphlet is that "today more than ever is it important to reformulate the ethical basis on which our movement rests. The 'scientific' dogmas of the past are broken reeds." It is important to remember that this conclusion is backed by that section of the Labor leadership which still has the party machine in its hands.

#### WHITHER NOW?

It is no wonder that Lord Pakenham, who is both a Catholic and a former Labor Minister, has publicly stated that "Labor is at the crossroads."

The dangers Labor now face are apparent not only to Catholics but to many of the "good pagans" among the party's leaders. They are painfully aware that if they do not soon come forward with new principles, policies and programs, plus a new vision, Bevan and his followers will quickly capture the leadership. For the "Bevanites" will claim to be the only true champions of the old Socialist ideals, the men who are determined to defend socialism against those who would betray it. The economic tide is already rising in Bevan's favor, and so, to some extent,

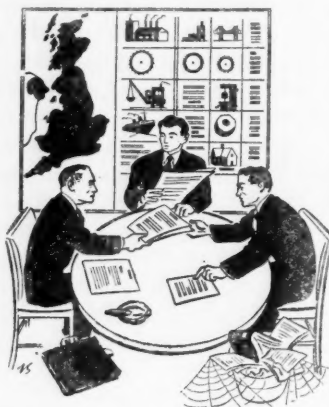
is the political tide. The moderate leaders have no desire to see Labor's rank and file, and especially the enthusiasts who keep the party machine going, drop into his hands.

"New thinking" is being encouraged at every level of the party. Discussion pamphlets on international affairs, public and private ownership and a number of other questions are being sent to all the party's organizations. The opinions of members are being sought with a view to a restatement of policies being adopted at the 1953 annual conference.

All this rather self-conscious "new thinking," let me emphasize, is not just about policies. It is about basic aims and underlying principles, too. Ironically, it is the Fabian Society (which was primarily responsible for the party being made a Socialist one, as opposed to a purely Labor party) which now goes farthest in urging that socialism should be dropped and new aims be adopted.

To a Catholic, it is particularly interesting to note that the disillusioned Socialists, in their search for new solutions, are more and more being driven toward the idea of some sort of industrial copartnership. The one positive thing which emerges from the society's latest book, *New Fabian Essays*, in which a group of contributors attempt a restatement of their position, is a proposal that representatives of both the workers and the state should be placed on boards of directors of corporations.

This suggestion comes from Austin Albu, a Labor M.P. who is also an industrial expert with practical experience of factory management. There is a certain



piquancy in the circumstance that the exponent of this proposal is himself a product of the very "managerial society" which he now aims to reform.

The flavor of the debate is likewise enriched by the fact that among the most active of the behind-the-scenes campaigners for profit-sharing schemes is John Strachey, former War Minister, who for years was prominent in the Marxist wing of the party. He has not yet, so far as I know, publicly advocated copartnership, but in a letter to the *Times* he recently identified himself with what he called "the tradition which has sought to approach a direct restoration of the means of production to the workers by means of various forms of industrial democracy." One wonders hopefully if he has been reading some of Hilaire Belloc's pleas for the "restoration of property."

Thus the criticisms which Catholic social thinkers have made in the past against collectivism are now being made by the Socialist leaders themselves. They have been compelled by the logic of events to join those, among whom Catholics have been prominent, who have urged the need to defend the rights and responsibilities of the individual against encroaching state power. Even in their industrial and social policies they are groping towards a form of organization, copartnership, which Catholic sociologists have often suggested as an alternative to the extremes of state and monopoly ownership.

#### CATHOLIC OPPORTUNITY

It is therefore not surprising that a Labor leader one evening told me that he would welcome the assistance of Catholics in this "new thinking." "Your people have experience of these things," he said, "when are we going to hear from them?" He has, so far as I know, no religious beliefs, but he added that he regretted the weakening of the once-considerable Nonconformist influence in the Labor movement and went on to say that he would welcome a situation where the Catholic influence became equally strong.

There was some substance, therefore, in a recent assertion by Lord Pakenham that if Catholic Labor voters had really thought out how their social thinking could be applied to practical politics "we could sweep the Labor party."

It would be foolish to suppose that all the non-Marxist leaders have suddenly been filled with a desire to make theirs a Catholic party or a party with Catholic policies. They are, to put it at its lowest, politicians who once had an ideology and who are in search of another. They are party men who see their organization lying wide open for their rivals, the Bevanites, to capture, and are seeking allies.

There are thousands of Catholics in the Labor party, hundreds of thousands in the affiliated trades unions and cooperatives. A huge proportion of the British Catholic community regularly votes Labor. That being so, it would seem that without having any illusions about the situation, and without falling into the heresy of regarding their Catholicism as yet another

ideology, or as just an alternative social program, they have a unique opportunity to make their impact felt on the life of their party.

They could, if they were ready for it, make Labor's aims and policies more consistent with Christian teaching than they have been in the past. And in these days when so much comes the Communists' way by one means or another, it seems a pity to abandon to the tender mercies of the neo-Marxists the party which may well form the next British Government.

## Lord Pakenham's call to Catholics

Paul Henderson

WHETHER YOU AGREE with his politics or not, Frank Pakenham—as he is generally known—is a man to watch. As Labor's Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1947 and 1948 he was responsible to Mr. Attlee's Government for the British Zone of Germany, and in 1951 he became First Lord of the Admiralty. But one of the consequences of Labor's defeat in last year's General Election was that Frank Pakenham was relieved of the cares which high public office imposes, and left with more freedom as well as with more time. Ever since his reception into the Catholic Church in 1940 he has felt himself a Catholic first and a member of the Labor party only second—if one may without impertinence compare the positions which religion and political allegiance occupy in any man's mind—and he is filled today with a strong sense that there falls upon him a duty of leadership in Catholic social action.

Though heir to an Irish earldom, Frank Pakenham grew up as a Protestant, and though a leading member of the Labor party, which he joined shortly before he became a Catholic, he also grew up as a Conservative. He even worked for a time in the Conservative party's Economic Research Department.

#### THE CHURCH AND THE PARTIES

In Britain, of course, in contrast to most of the continental countries, the Catholic Church is able to be quite impartial as between the main political parties. It is often said that a majority of the Catholics in fact favor the Labor party. This view seems plausible when we remember that the majority of them belong to the working class, in the London area, the Midlands and the North, and that many of the Irish among them dislike the Conservative party because

*Paul Henderson is the pen-name of an English Catholic journalist well situated to gauge Catholic reaction to the current Labor party crisis.*



its other name is the Unionist party—meaning that it opposed Irish Home Rule and still upholds the Partition of Ireland. It is also a fact that there are more Catholics on the Labor benches of the House of Commons than on the Conservative benches. The most Catholic town in the whole of Britain, however, is the Lancashire town of Preston, and this happens to be one of those where election results show the electorate to be most evenly divided. No majority is smaller than that of the Member for Preston North. On the whole, British Catholics are probably fairly evenly divided between the two main parties, with perhaps a slight preponderance in favor of Labor.

The Catholic press in Britain, although, almost uniquely in the world, entirely owned and controlled by laymen, is by wise tradition nonparty. There is, however, a Conservative background to the leading weekly, the *Tablet*; while another weekly, the *Catholic Herald*, has latterly been more and more disposed to give space to Labor party views. The *Catholic Herald* has on its staff ex-Communist Douglas Hyde, former news editor of the English *Daily Worker*, who writes of labor problems and social matters from a Labor Party point of view. The *Herald* is always an admirer of R. R. ("Dick") Stokes, the Labor Government's Lord Privy Seal, who is a Catholic.

This, in brief, is the background to Frank Pakenham's present bid to mobilize the social conscience of Britain's Catholics in the interests of the Labor party. His clarion-call was sounded in the pages of the *Catholic Herald* on June 20. "We Catholics could sweep the Labor Party," said his bold headline. He did not mean that Catholics could dominate it numerically, or could occupy its leading positions—which would obviously be absurd suggestions, with Catholics no more than ten per cent of Britain's population. He explained himself clearly: "We would sweep the party . . . in the sense that Catholic ideas—and I think they are common to most active Christians—would become the law of the land and the social system of tomorrow."

#### POLITICAL VACUUM AMAKING

Now it is a commonplace to say that both the leading political parties in England are singularly poor in ideas at the present time. In the *Tablet* for July 5 Douglas Jerrold, who is very much a Conservative party man—he ran the *English Review* brilliantly in the Conservative interest for many years—wrote on "The Country and the Parties." He found the Conservatives singularly lacking in any real leadership today, despite the tremendous personality of Winston Churchill. He concluded that it is "very possible, not to say probable" that the Conservative party, if it is defeated at the next General Election, as many think it will be, "will never again hold office," but will go the way of the Liberal party.

The Labor party is plainly in process of splitting into two parties, one of which will be led by Attlee and Hugh Gaitskill and the other by Aneurin Bevan.

There are many today who believe that these are the two parties of the future: that the English political system only has room for two parties, and that the Conservative party will not be one of them.

The Bevanites have their ideas. But the main body of the Labor party is scarcely less bankrupt intellectually than the Conservative party. Here, thinks Pakenham, is the great opportunity of Catholics. They can provide the doctrine for which the mass of the Labor party is waiting. He writes:

The Labor party is at the crossroads. The idea of nationalizing all the means of production, distribution and exchange, if it was ever seriously entertained, which I doubt, has been in practice abandoned. But the party is no more the friend of the old capitalism than it ever was, nor satisfied for a moment that our present controlled welfare capitalism approximates to the just society. A great thinking-out-afresh is going on at all levels, organized and unorganized, although the phrase has been derided in some august circles.

Most people would agree that this is beyond controversy. But what is not at all beyond controversy is, first, that the Labor party is prepared to be influenced to any important degree by Pakenham's interpretation of the papal encyclicals; and, second, that Catholics in general are going to agree that Pakenham is the man to interpret those encyclicals correctly.

#### CATHOLICS PRO AND CON

The *Catholic Herald* committed itself, cautiously but definitely, to Pakenham's support, but the *Tablet* took immediate and grave exception. Controversies have ensued in the correspondence columns of both journals. It is ironical that most of the letters in the *Catholic Herald* seem to have been from Conservatives who do not admit that Catholics should find their future in the Labor Party, while in the Conservative *Tablet* there appeared a strongly-feeling Labor man—Sir Henry Slessor, another convert, who was Solicitor-General in Ramsay MacDonald's first Government in 1924.

The *Tablet* objected to Lord Pakenham's view that egalitarianism is part of Catholic teaching, to his refusal to believe that the present system, under which one per cent of the population still owns nearly half the wealth, "is in accord either with the Divine Will or with the encyclicals expressing it." The suggestion was that there should be something in the nature of a capital levy. The *Tablet* pointed out that one per cent of the population sounds like very few people but that it really amounts to half a million people, and that they should, by Catholic doctrine, be able to feel their property rights secure. The *Tablet* also noted, commenting on the Labor policy of taxing the rich heavily for the benefit of the poor, that Leo XIII, when he was writing *Rerum Novarum*, consulted moral theologians on the just rate of taxation and reached the conclusion that even 14 per cent of a man's income was an excessive proportion for the



state to claim; whereas today in England the State claims more than three times that amount.

Several people wrote to the *Catholic Herald* to point out obvious contrasts between the views of many members of the Labor party and those of many Catholics, doubting whether men like Dr. Dalton could be made to agree with Lord Pakenham.

No one asked what Lord Pakenham was going to do about Aneurin Bevan, however, for that question had already been answered. The Bishop of Leeds publicly warned Catholics against the Bevanites not long ago, and the *Catholic Herald* made a strong if not very well-judged attack on him when his recent book, *In Place of Fear*, came out. Pakenham, more optimistic, believes that there is hope for the wild Welshman from Ebbw Vale, thinking it an open question whether Bevan is a Marxist or a Christian, and believing that although "his few remarks about religion are rather pathetic," he "will finish nearer Christianity than atheism."

#### PROSPECTS

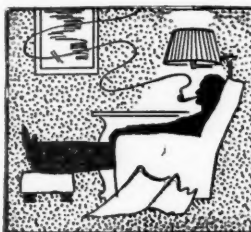
Certainly Pakenham's hopes of making the social encyclicals the guiding handbook at Transport House must depend upon the division of the Labor party becoming complete. The Bevan group, Christian or not, have no lack of ideas; Richard Crossman, Michael Foot and the rest of them are both eloquent and confident, and their paper, the *Tribune*, is always readable, however much one may disagree with it. But the Attlee-Gaitskell school is open to receive ideas. And the most interesting point is one that Pakenham has not yet broached in public.

The Labor men ask each other what is to be their doctrine for industry, if nationalization is rejected. Quite independently of Catholic influence from any quarter, they have been for some time discussing theories of industrial co-partnership. Now at the same time Catholic groups have been discussing similar ideas, stimulated by the controversy in Germany over "co-determination" (cf. AM. 8/5/50, pp. 463-66).

A whole new approach to Labor problems and the harmony of capital and labor is being worked out. It is not yet clear whether Pakenham is espousing these ideas and is going to produce the Catholic expositors of them as his prophets. He is himself by profession an Oxford don, a lecturer in political and economic theory, and well equipped to head his own school of thought. It may be that he is convinced that the Labor party will in any case commit its future to such doctrines as these, and that if only he can ensure that the principles of the social encyclicals are accepted from the start as the cornerstones of the new teaching, then Catholics will from the start be leaders in the party's thought. Perhaps this is the sense in which Catholics can "sweep the Labor party."

The *Catholic Herald* says that this "places a tremendous but glorious responsibility upon them." Others will say that Lord Pakenham is going to find himself in the thick of a whole lot of arguments.

## FEATURE "X"



Mr. Boyer, staff correspondent of the *Tidings*, Los Angeles diocesan weekly, adds a postscript to his AMERICA article of March 29 on the Carrollton Clubs: "Catholic leadership training."

"I WANT TO TELL YOU that nothing in the world could have meant to me what your news has today!"

So wrote a Colorado mother when notified that her sailor-son had joined a Carrollton Club group in the California city where he is stationed. Like all mothers, she was concerned about her young son's spiritual development. When she read my article on "Catholic Leadership Training" in the March 29 issue of AMERICA, she asked me to get in touch with her boy and extend an invitation to attend a Carrollton meeting. The contact was made, the meeting attended, and another member was added to the movement.

This incident is one of many which resulted from the AMERICA article.

A lawyer in Madison, Wis., wrote to inquire if Edwin C. Boehler, whose name appeared in the article as co-founder of the movement, was the same Ed Boehler who graduated from Creighton University in 1915. He was, and two law-school classmates were put in contact with each other for the first time since their graduation!

In San Diego, Calif., another sailor became so enthusiastic over the leadership opportunities offered through Carrollton training that he called me long distance to secure more information. After receiving it, his enthusiasm grew. He explained he would be leaving the Navy soon and was eager to get a chapter started in the Knights of Columbus Council back in his home town in West Virginia. He decided to board a bus that very minute so that he could talk in person to a Carrolltonian in Long Beach. Since it was then past the dinner hour when he made the call, a meeting couldn't be arranged that night, much to his disappointment.

In at least one case, the article helped nullify the effects of Jehovah's Witness literature. An Episcopalian woman in Long Beach, Calif., was at first interested only in the Carrollton article. It later developed that AMERICA was the first Catholic magazine to come her way. When returning it, she completely forgot to mention the article. Instead, she spoke approvingly of the "generous and understanding attitude your Catholic magazine has towards other religions," as contrasted to the "bitter and venomous attacks the Searchlighters make on you Catholics!"

The founder of the Leoknights in Canada was one of the first to address inquiries for more information. A discussion club with objectives similar to those of the Carrolltonians, the Leoknights have 47 clubs organized in New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and in several Provinces of Canada. The resulting exchange of information on organizational plans, general objectives and problems will be of great help for the future development of both groups.

From the Grand Knight of a K. of C. Council in Florida came the comment: "The Carrollton Club seems to offer just the method we have been looking for to develop both speaking ability and a knowledge

of Catholic social principles among our members. Please send more information."

Adding to the list of inquirers was the director of the public-relations department of the University of San Francisco Alumni Association. He is planning a speakers' bureau.

All told, the article in *AMERICA* has been of inestimable help in spreading throughout the country news of this novel lay organization. A gentleman in Philadelphia, Pa., described the magazine as "that grand medium, *AMERICA*." To which this writer, with all Carrolltonians, sincerely adds: "Amen."

CHUCK BOYER.

## Providence and modern literature

Philip J. Scharper

One of the most regrettable aspects of contemporary literary criticism is its fragmentary character; by far the greatest part of the criticism which comes to the attention of the average reader, as opposed to the literary specialist, is found in brief articles and book reviews in periodicals and newspapers. As a consequence of this limitation of space there is an almost necessary limitation of critical treatment; within so narrow a compass the critic or reviewer can do little but point out to his readers the philosophy (or theology) of the work in question.

While this fact obtains for all contemporary criticism on the non-specialist level, it is probably most marked in the case of Catholic critical practice, since Catholic critics must *ex professo* be concerned with the philosophy and theology of the work under scrutiny. Thus we find the main tendencies of our current literature represented as secularistic, naturalistic, atheistic, according to the degree to which they deviate from Christian truth.

While this concern for "ideas" is eminently justified, and the limitations of space are understandable, the partial character of such Catholic criticism is none the less regrettable. In discharging its primary duty of illuminating the ideological defects of contemporary literature, it may tend to make us lose sight of a tremendous and heartening fact: that Providence works in literary, as well as socio-political history; that the "arm of God is not shortened," even in the seeming confusion of our modern literature.

We believe that God draws good from evil, and works His own design through the often stubborn materials of historical events. Yet we are inclined to forget that God is at work in the same way in our literary history, "ruling from end to end mightily and ordering all things sweetly" toward His own purpose. There are signs that in our time God's pattern is becoming discernible, that He has woven a recognizable de-

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

sign from the seemingly snarled and frayed threads of the literary history of the last three hundred years. There is even reason to hope that we may be witnessing the first steps of a literary movement which aims at an integrated view of human life, as opposed to the atomized view of man which has dominated the literature of the last three centuries.

Since the medieval decline, a unified view of the macrocosm and the microcosm has been rendered almost impossible. Both the Renaissance and the Reformation tended to thrust the individual into the forefront of his own awareness. But what was man to think of himself, or what coloring was his new self-consciousness to assume? The Enlightenment told man to regard himself as disembodied reason, "the Cartesian angel." When this approach to reality failed, romanticism told man he was a bundle of refined sensibilities and warm intuitions, "the charming Rousseauistic beast," in W. H. Auden's phrase. The literature written by Cartesian angels is usually characterized by "objectivity" and "universality"; the charming Rousseauistic beast inclines toward the "subjective" and "particular." It is important to note that each of these attitudes was simplicist, and therefore tended to cram the complex reality of human experience into a pigeon-hole labelled "Life."

For our purposes, however, it is more important to realize that each of these literary attitudes was a necessary antidote to the other, and helped to keep

*Philip J. Scharper, who contributed "Symbolism in the New Criticism" (AM. 2/2), is an instructor in the English Department at Fordham University.*

the collective mind of man alive to the fact that neither the cold rationalism of the neoclassic, nor "the warm intuitive muddle" of the romantic was the full key to reality. Through winding paths each has come into the twentieth century—the Cartesian angel writing sociological novels (because the disembodied intellect is fascinated by blueprints); and the Rousseauistic beast, losing none of his charm, proffering the minute recordings of his own stream of consciousness as the transcript of reality.

Each of these extreme attitudes toward reality created an appropriate technique for its expression; so we have the dry, literal, shriveled prose of a Dreiser or a Hemingway, or the technique of allusion and free suggestion, leading often to complete frustration of thought and language, in a Joyce or Faulkner. These same forces, of course, operate in all the arts, as evidenced by the prose-turned-poetry of Sandburg, the freewheeling imagination of Oscar Williams and the less talented imitators of Eliot and Hopkins, or the current battle between the "representational" and "nonobjective" schools in the graphic arts. Since the artist looked upon reality with a naive oversimplification, his report of reality adopted a similar oversimplification of technique in either extreme realism or uncontrolled impressionism.

In the last two decades, however, there has been a growing conviction that these opposed attitudes have spent themselves, and that their techniques are rather inadequate to express the full human situation. Consequently, there has developed a desire to heal what T. S. Eliot called "the divorce of sense and sensibility," of the mind and the imagination, of the objective and subjective emphases in art. There is a growing tendency, in short, to insist that art should give a more accurate report on reality by respecting both extremes yet bringing them together into an organic fusion which will recognize, respect and reflect the complexity of human experience by showing that man is part angel and part animal, Ariel and Caliban, and that Descartes and Rousseau were equally wrong because equally extreme.

This new-found awareness of man's dual nature is, of course, an approximation to the view of man as he has been represented in that classical-Christian tradition which was destroyed by the working-out of the Renaissance and Reformation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new critics have rediscovered and re-evaluated such complex (and traditional) poets as Donne and Dante, whose transcripts of a varicolored reality strike the modern mind as being more valid than either of the monochromatic worlds created by the Enlightenment and romanticism.

This complex view of the world reflected in the best modern literary criticism and creation has demanded a new technique, a new medium for expressing new insights. Critic and author alike feel an impatience with both the complete extroversion of realism and the complete introspection of impressionism. As a consequence, we find the critics beginning to use long-

neglected concepts in their examination of a work of art, and to speak once more of "analogy," "ontology" and "organic unity."

Contemporary authors are rediscovering old techniques, are beginning to move more easily in a world of traditional rather than private symbols and to employ language that avoids the old extremes of high-class reporting and purely private jargon. All these developments are causes for rejoicing but, in preparing to dance at the funeral of the Cartesian angel and the Rousseauistic beast, we should also be aware of the services they have rendered.

For not only has each kept alive a half-picture of the complete truth about man, so that at some time the two halves could be pieced together, but, even more important, each, in its desperate cleaving to its half-truth, has served to reveal more and more about man. Naturalism, despite its aberrations, has served to make us more aware of the dynamism of heredity and environment within the individual, and even its predilection for the sordid has at least served to remind us that this is not the earthly paradise envisioned so often by romantic optimism. It could thus keep men aware of the need for redemption, even though it did not know where to look for the Redeemer.

Similarly, the various developments of romanticism, with their emphases upon sensibility, the particular and atypical, and their awareness that "the heart has reasons the mind knows not of," have kept us from looking on life as a closed system, or thinking we could filter out all its mystery by reducing it to a formula.

As a consequence, the literature of the past has been a chronicle of action and reaction, violent affirmation and vehement denial, but from the struggles between rationalism and romanticism has come a deeper understanding and a keener sensibility toward the record of human experience which is literature. "Sin repented of," remarks St. Augustine, "is a good"; from it we learn more about God and about ourselves. In an analogous way, literature since the Renaissance represents a defection from grace, but it has also taught us more about ourselves, and has given us techniques through which these new insights into our nature could be expressed.

Thus, if the poetry of T. S. Eliot strikes us as significant, should we not be aware that while he calls himself "a classicist in literature," his technique is yet heavily indebted to the French Symbolists? If the novels of Graham Greene strike us as a moving examination of the problem of evil from the Christian point of view, could we not wonder whether these novels would be quite so effective if Greene did not bend to his purpose both an impressionistic concern for the world within man and the detailed realism of technique associated with naturalism? Auden, Kafka, Merton, Claudel have won wide acclaim only because they were able to project their traditional view of man through techniques developed by the various forms of rationalism and romanticism. Only because



these writers spoke the language of the modern world could they gain a hearing for their old, old truths.

To carry the discussion to a more general plane, is it not a startling, yet salutary reflection to consider that much of modern literary criticism and literary practice is actually being led to a more balanced, more healthy and more significant view of man and literature through approaches that have been pieced together from such diverse thinkers as Fraser, Freud, Jung and the destructive higher critics of the Scriptures? Working in different fields, and often openly hostile to Christianity and the Christian view of life, these men have succeeded in making critics and writers aware of the subconscious, of the role of vital symbols and myths grounded in the very needs of man, and have engendered a respect for the parts of

our lives which cannot be represented by a syllogism. They have succeeded, despite their intentions, in making modern man aware that reality resembles not the world of Descartes or Rousseau, but that of Dante and St. Thomas.

This is not to suggest that the historical wheel has come full circle. We are, indeed, just feeling the faint stirring of a new revolution in literary thinking; but it is encouraging to note that this new thinking is toward a Christian complexity and fullness rather than toward an un-Christian simplification and attenuation. This new movement also makes us reflect that Christ promised to draw *all* things to Himself; we may well believe that among those things may be the literature of our immediate future, and that the strings by which it may be drawn are the writings of our past.

### Comprehensive coverage

#### PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

By Neal Riemer. McGraw-Hill. 356p. \$3.75

This book is intended as a source work to supplement texts in the field of American government. It is arranged in the form of a series of questions to which divergent and even contradictory answers are supplied by scholars, publicists or political leaders. The author (actually "editor" would be a more accurate title) gives no final decision respecting the correctness of any of these answers. Instead, at the end of each series of contributions he offers a group of specific queries dealing with the matter just presented. A select bibliography is appended to each problem.

The success of any venture of this type depends upon two factors: first, the choice of the problems themselves; second, the selection of the commentators upon them.

Mr. Riemer offers such problems as "Representative Government: How Should Your Congressman Vote?", "Federalism: Is Our Federal System of Government Endangered, Obsolete or Adequate?", "Government, the Economy and Social Welfare: The Welfare State: Reactionary Bugaboo or Socialist Menace?", "Foreign Affairs: How Should We Deal with the Soviet Union?"—a wide variety of highly important topics. Of course, in a field so filled with diverse and complicated problems, it is easy to find some worthy subjects that have been omitted. Many would undoubtedly like to see a discussion of Church-state relations. Others might question the failure to include material on communism in government and the methods which have been used to remove it. In general, however, the topics appear well-chosen.

The second criterion of success—selection of commentators—is perhaps even more difficult to judge than the first. Everyone has his favorite expert or experts on any given subject, and failure to include them arouses suspicion and ire. But the author has provided opinions varied enough to satisfy the most disparate tastes. In a discussion of Federalism, he offers such contrasts as the platform of the Dixiecrats and the words of the late Harold Laski. On political parties he presents both Harry Truman and Robert A. Taft. On the welfare state he gives the words of Senators Byrd and Douglas, the platform of the American Socialist party, and the ideas of John T. Flynn.

While primarily adapted for use in college courses in political science, *Problems of American Government* is suitable for adult discussion groups, club panels, or indeed for any thinking American who is concerned with the public policies of his country.

HENRY L. ROFINOT

#### CONGRESS AT WORK

By Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel. Holt. 460p. \$5

This is the kind of book that should make Congressmen and Senators realize the cogency of Burns' lines:

Oh wad some power the gitie gie  
us  
To see oursels as others see us!

The authors have not confined their studies to a general description of the daily chores of our elected legislators. They have widened their scope to observe the behind-the-scenes maneuverings of strong-armed committee chairmen, overzealous staff members and the ubiquitous and diligent lobbyists. It is all described with only a modicum of the derogatory connotations which are inescapable in an objective work.

## BOOKS

The case histories recited reflect an exhaustive documentation and scrupulous attention to the small but crucial details essential to an understanding of how our Congress works.

The reader is led through the sectional mazes of "pork-barrel" bills, the endless defeats that beset Senator Norris' fight for TVA, the conniving deals that are often made by members of both political parties, and the political chicanery that goes on in the committees of both houses. The authors' succinct observations at each chapter heading are one of the chief values of the book. They offer much constructive criticism and many suggestions for improvement in our legislative processes.

The book has particular value in an election year in revealing the activities of candidates in wooing voters; but it has permanent value in showing how the candidates operate *after* they have been elected. The parallel case-histories of two congressional investigating committees, one good (Truman Committee), one bad (House Un-American and Dr. Condon), make fascinating reading.

Both Mr. Bailey and Mr. Samuel were particularly well-equipped for their present task. They have brought to it their vast experience in government, their comprehensive understanding of politics, and a dispassionate style in presenting their observations.

After reading *Congress at Work*, a citizen may well feel that he has been initiated into the legislative fraternity and can thus give opinions and direction to his elected officials with a knowledge and authority that must command respectful attention.

GREY LESLIE



## Cool north waters

### ACROSS TO NORWAY

By David Howarth. Sloane. 286p. \$3.75

### HARPOON VENTURE

By Gavin Maxwell. Viking. 304p. \$4.75

Two accounts of adventure on the high seas have recently come to us from England, both of which describe activities as unusual as they are thrilling. Although neither book is particularly distinguished by the quality of its writing, the author in each case tells his story simply and realistically. As a result, these books make an engrossing initiation into two dangerous undertakings—one a conspicuous success and the other an ill-starred failure.

Perhaps the more exciting and better written book of the two is *Across to Norway*. Here the author, a lieutenant commander in the Royal Navy Reserve and a former BBC war correspondent, tells of his experiences as second in command of a British naval base in the Shetland Islands off the coast of Scotland, which served as the

staging point during World War II for a shuttle service to Norway. For three years after the German invasion of Norway this heroic and little-known operation was conducted by Norwegian civilian volunteers sailing unescorted in fishing boats from fifty to seventy feet long. Their object was to land men and cargo in Norway without the knowledge of the Germans, to rescue refugees, and to maintain contact with trusted agents ashore.

Some of these trips covered a distance of three thousand miles and required three weeks to accomplish. All were made, of necessity, in the darkness of sub-arctic winter, since the continuous daylight of summer made operations too conspicuous. No one can read this book without sharing the author's admiration for these courageous fishermen who persistently maintained this precarious ferry service under the very eyes of an alert and superiorly equipped enemy.

Maintenance was a continuous problem for the small, inadequately equipped repair yard at Shetland, and although miraculous things were accomplished here and by the crews themselves underway, it was a great relief when these responsibilities were eventually assumed by the British

Navy. Unique administrative and disciplinary problems also arose, due to the anomalous nature of an operation involving Norwegian ships and personnel under British authority. The crews, being civilians, would not respect British officers and refused to become organized into anything like a military unit. On the other hand, Howarth and his associates soon realized that if permitted to elect their own skippers the men seldom made a mistake, and the net result was a competent if not exactly orthodox organization.

By the spring of 1944 the Germans had built up such an effective defense against the sorties of these fishing boats, and the toll of ships and men had become so high, that the British decided against risking further operations until a faster, more effective boat could be employed. In August of that year Admiral Stark, then Commander of American Naval forces in Europe, supplied three sub-chasers to the British for this purpose and the day of the fishing boat was over. Here Mr. Howarth's story ends, but what he has told makes a stirring tale of bravery and sacrifice in a little-known phase of the last war.

The enterprise described in *Harpoon Venture* had quite a different

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—JOHN D. SHERIDAN

By Mary Purcell

## SAINT JOAN OF ARC THE HALO ON THE SWORD

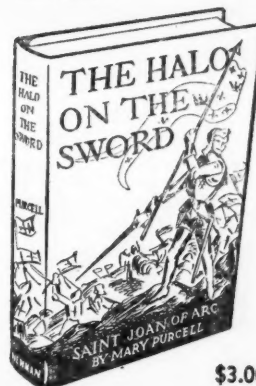
320 pages

"This is the story of St. Joan of Arc from her childhood to her martyrdom, written not as a ponderous biography . . . but with people who throb with life and with all the fidelity of background that can have come only from years of prodigious study . . . The author depicts the saint in all her holiness and steadfast devotion to her purpose; yet she has interwoven in the pattern a wonderfully rich design of action and high adventure . . . Every page of the book shines with the light of medieval France in all its strength and all its weakness. It is at once a faithful piece of history and a brilliant romance."—*Irish Independent*

"A very fine piece of work, splendidly told, rich as a tapestry, and full of the colour of spacious times. The measure of her success, however, is not so much her breathless story as the spiritual insight that pervades it, for the story of Jeanne of Arc is less the story of the sword that relieved Orleans than of the halo that shone on it from on high."—*The Irish School Weekly*

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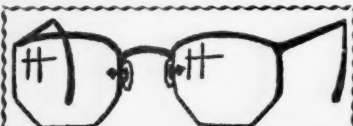
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outcome. In 1944, when Gavin Maxwell, a major in the British Army, decided to buy the island of Soay in the Hebrides as a place to relax after the war, he little realized what headaches were ahead of him. For Maxwell became interested in the commercial possibilities of one of the strangest and least known fish in the ocean—the basking shark. Practically nothing was known about their habits nor had any means of catching them been perfected. Maxwell learned, however, that the market for oil extracted from the livers of the basking shark was excellent, and he determined to go ahead. *Harpoon Venture* is the account of his experiences.

It was an undertaking plagued with misfortune from the very start. Influenced by the desires of his financial backers to reap a quick profit from their investment, Maxwell abandoned his original intention to work exclusively with liver oil and tried instead to utilize every part of the shark, a decision that resulted in wasted time and energy and never paid off. The failure of the initial equipment designed by the author was another bitter disappointment. The factory which was set up at Soay to handle the carcasses proved inadequate, and so on.

Gavin Maxwell was a man of uncommon perseverance who did not give up easily. Slowly, painfully, progress was made, but just when success was in sight the investors refused to advance any more capital and in 1949 Maxwell resigned as manager of the enterprise.

Unfortunately, Mr. Maxwell's style of writing is pedestrian and a trifle monotonous. But his book provides a quantity of information about this esoteric fish, the second largest known to exist. The average basking shark is twenty-six feet long and weighs some eight tons; some specimens that the author observed were as long as forty feet. Hunting these monsters is an exciting and difficult game and provided rare sport if very little pecuniary reward. JOHN M. CONNOLE

### From the Editor's shelf

*THE STRANGER*, by Malachy G. Carroll (Bruce, \$2.75), is a man of fine manners and rough hands who takes up residence in a small Irish town. The veil of mystery is gradually stripped from him through the inquisitiveness of the neighbors and he is revealed as a condemned jewel thief. It is not until he is discovered giving absolution to a dying man that he is revealed as a priest who suffered imprisonment rather than violate the secrecy of the confessional. *Nelson Logal* says: "A different story arrangement, a slower

pace of development, less sweetness and light, and a far more extensive exploration of character, motive and the logic of event might have placed this novel with the best of Greene and Bernanos. As it is, it is a refreshing and sometimes absorbing tale of clerical life."

*THE SPENDTHRIFTS*, by Perez Galdos (Farrar, Straus & Young, \$3.50), is the satirical novel of a niggardly husband and a spendthrift wife set against the royal court of Madrid during the reign of Queen Isabella II. It is an excellent example of the author's fidelity to detail and of his penchant for depicting the everyday aspects of marriage. *Pierre Courtines* compares Galdos to Balzac in his portrayal of character and hopes that this translation will be the forerunner of a series which will give the English-speaking reader the opportunity of becoming acquainted with other of the author's outstanding works.

*THE BREVIARY EXPLAINED*, by Pius Parsch (Herder, \$6). The present volume undertakes to challenge a situation in which a "portion of the clergy are more or less at odds with the breviary." *Gerald Ellard, S.J.*, explains that while Rome is working on breviary reform, this book prescinds from reform-proposals and "sells" the breviary by explaining it as we have it now. "Priests and others reciting the breviary here find explanations for things done without knowing why."

*ST. BASIL, LETTERS, I* (Fathers of the Church, \$4.50). Just half of the three hundred and sixty-eight letters St. Basil wrote in the last decades of his life form the contents of this thirteenth volume of *The Fathers of the Church*. Ably translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way of Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, who was supplied with valuable notes by Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, this volume, says *Gerald Ellard, S.J.*, has great general appeal and will win new friends for the Bishop of Caesarea, the profound theologian who played such a central role in opposing the terrible Arian upheavals.

HENRY L. ROFINOT is in the History Department at Villanova College, Villanova, Pa.

GREY LESLIE, former assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has had wide executive experience in business and government.

JOHN M. CONNOLE is on the staff of the *New York Times Book Review*.

## THE WORD

*"If thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things that are for thy peace"*  
(Luke 19:42; 9th Sunday after Pentecost).

Deeply moving and wonderfully consoling are those many evidences of the compassion of Christ that we encounter as we page prayerfully and reflectively through the Gospel. They seem to underline, to italicize historically, so to speak, the astounding mystery of the Incarnation, that "the Word was made *flesh*," that "He set up His dwelling among us."

Indeed, it is in this mystery of infinite condescending love, in the Incarnation, that St. Paul looks for the secret of Christ's compassion. "He emptied Himself," the Apostle reflects, "taking the nature of a slave and being made like unto men" (Phil. 2:7). And so he reminds the early Christians: "We have not a high priest who cannot have compassion on our infirmities, but one tried in all things except sin" (Heb. 4:15).

Tempted thrice in His desert encounter with Satan, wearied as He seated Himself by the well of Jacob at Sichem, brought to tears at the tomb of Lazarus, He learned by experience "from the things that He suffered" (Heb. 5:8). The deep compassion of Christ that radiates as a warming light from so many Gospel incidents was wrought and formed in the crucible of His suffering love, a "love that surpasses knowledge."

In the Gospel for the ninth Sunday after Pentecost we find an instance of the compassion of Christ. It is the sorrowful prelude to the first Palm Sunday. Gazing from the hillside across the Valley of the Kidron to the walls of Jerusalem, raised by His own race and sacred to His Eternal Father, He wept over it, we read in St. Luke, "saying, 'If thou hadst known . . . the things that are for thy peace'."

Dull would we be, indeed, in our appreciation of the spirit of Christ, if we failed to read in these grieving words the true depths of His love, the true scope of His grief, the true meaning of His compassion. It was not the walls of Jerusalem crumbling before the catapult of the Roman legions, nor even the flight and the frightened cries of the children of God, that lay beneath His lament. His tears were not for the temporal tragedy, but for the tragic fault behind it. "If thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things that are for thy peace."

Christ does not grieve for what will take place under Titus, but for what has taken place in the hearts of His people; not for future dispersal through centuries of ghettos, but for the refusal of sheep to follow their Shepherd. "He who rejects me, rejects Him who sent me." What stirs the suffering love of Christ is not the fall of the City of David; but the fall in the City of David of the "City of God." Jerusalem had faced and answered the question raised in every soul: "What think you of Christ?" He wept because she had not perceived "the time of her visitation" and had

not known the "things that were for her peace."

In the war-torn world of today the mind and heart of Christ are unchanged, "yesterday, today and the same forever." Tragedy will not lie in mushrooming clouds that may hang over cities, but in the hearts of men. The entire temporal order must rest on spiritual rock. Peace and the love of fellow-men will never be had apart from the law of God or His love.

"Seek you first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. 6:33).  
WILLIAM J. READ, S.J.

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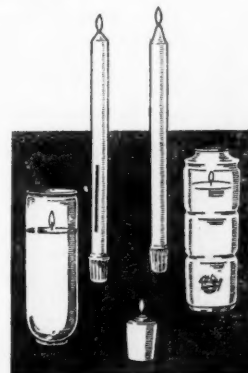
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## THEATRE

**VERY MINOR PROPHET.** The mantle of prophecy seems to have descended on this column, and I am a little frightened. Prophets are not only burdened with a tremendous responsibility; they also have a way of getting themselves stoned to death, decapitated or fed to the lions. I shudder at the mere thought of my carcass being served as an entree to the cats in Bronx zoo.

Last week, readers will recall, I observed that the disappearance of the Negro musical show has caused a condition that producers might eventually find embarrassing. The printer's ink was hardly dry when one producer, Robert Josephs, found himself waist-deep in the embarrassment I predicted.

A byproduct of the Negro musical was a pool of capable colored performers upon whom producers could call for a variety of services. It is not in the record that managers made the

best use of that reservoir of talent; nevertheless it was there and available. Now that casting directors are of a mind to utilize Negro talent, the pool is no longer there.

Mr. Josephs needs a colored actress for the title role of *My Darlin' Aida*, which he intends to produce in the fall. The part requires an actress with an operatic voice, an ingénue's figure and the facial glamor of a Hollywood starlet. I could give him the names of some girls who can sing opera and possess ample glamor for romantic interest. But their contours, alas, are on the Brunhildian side.

Mr. Josephs has auditioned colored singers who passed the pulchritude test with ease. The trouble is that the girls who can sing can't act, while those who can act can't sing. Reluctantly, Mr. Josephs declares, he was forced to consider casting the role with a white girl in make-up. Conditions in the theatre being what they are, he will not find it too easy to discover a white actress who can meet his specifications. Chances are that most of the girls he wants will be tied up in concert commitments or available only until the opening of the opera season, which happens to be when Mr. Josephs intends to present his own production.

In the meantime, the producer is embroiled in a hassle with some Negro organizations whose leaders insist that the part be played by a colored actress—as the author originally intended. That controversy is of more interest to the sociologist than to one primarily concerned with the theatre as a vehicle of art. But it does once again underscore a condition which, if not corrected, will reduce our theatre to the level of a second-rate stage. Many actors earn less than \$1,000 a year at their profession, and on any given date the majority of them are unemployed. Between engagements, which are few and far apart, many of them work as bus boys, part time salesmen and baby sitters. Conditions are even worse among colored performers. Hence, Mr. Josephs' king-size headache.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

very like his father. He also displays a handiness with the lariat and a reasonable approximation of the famous drawling delivery, and comports himself before the camera with a surprising lack of self-consciousness.

The part requires very little more than that, because the picture turns out to be a typical superficial and breathlessly admiring screen biography with very little in the way of conflict or real emotion. This is not to say that the film lacks merit. It sketches with fair accuracy and considerable charm the success story of a man who by this time is something of an American folk legend.

Some of Rogers' witticisms, especially on the subject of Congress, are as apt now as they were at the time of their utterance; and his common sense, his feeling of civic responsibility and his enormous contribution to the country's physical and mental well-being during the depression years are timelessly inspirational family fare. But the script writers appear to have taken Rogers' remark "I never met a man I didn't like" so much to heart that the film exudes placidity and sweetness and light to a degree that is humanly incredible and dramatically quite monotonous. As Mrs. Rogers, Jane Wyman is the epitome of the devoted wife. (Warner)

**HIGH NOON.** Producer Stanley Kramer's flair for originality is here evidenced by the use of a conventional, sun-scorched prairie frontier town as the setting for a strikingly effective suspense melodrama. At the same time his search for significance trips the film into striving for universal connotations too heavy for it to carry.

The story concerns a newly married town marshal (Gary Cooper) who learns, as he is about to depart on his honeymoon, that a criminal he brought to justice five years before has been released from jail and is arriving, revenge in his heart and his gang by his side, on the noon train. Though the hero's Quaker bride (Grace Kelly) is opposed to violence on principle and the townspeople obviously would rather get him out of town and settle for a dubious peace, the marshal stays. While the station clock moves inexorably toward twelve he tries without success to recruit deputies from among his neighbors. The showdown finds the townspeople safely indoors and the hero fighting everyone's battle for law and justice alone except for a last-minute change of heart by his wife.

Masterful cross-cutting, aided by sharply drawn characterizations by the star and by Thomas Mitchell, Lloyd Bridges, Otto Kruger and others, a spine-tingling musical score

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## FILMS

**THE WILL ROGERS STORY,** a movie project which has been discussed on and off for ten years, finally makes its appearance with Will Rogers Jr. playing the hard-to-cast title role. This choice on the whole proves felicitous. Photographed from certain angles young Rogers looks



by Dmitri Tiomkin, plus Fred Zinnemann's direction, make the marshal's vigil a tense and exciting evening's entertainment for adults.

As a parable of humanity's moral cowardice, however, the film rings false. The defection of the townspeople seems contrived for plot purposes rather than fairly stated. And for that matter, the hero's motives are sufficiently unclear and his single-handed dispatch of four desperadoes too uncomfortably in the Hopalong Cassidy tradition to make him a compelling symbol of Everyman's conscience. (United Artists)

**DON'T BOTHER TO KNOCK** is a curious melodramatic hodge-podge about a lunatic baby-sitter (Marilyn Monroe), a lonely bachelor on the make (Richard Widmark) and the wild mélange of cross-purposes, horror and bedroom farce set off by their chance encounter. It is reasonably well done and might be viewed as a cautionary tale against the dangers of philandering and hiring unknown baby-sitters. Another undeniable commercial asset is that its mentally unstable central character provides Miss Monroe with a ready-made opportunity to act more sexily than would be allowable for a girl in her right mind.

(20th Century-Fox)  
MOIRA WALSH

(AMERICA's moral approval of a film is always expressed by indicating its fitness for either adult or family viewing. Ed.)

## PARADE

**BULGING WITH ACCOUNTS OF** teen-agers and subteen-agers, the recent news no doubt reminded many grownups of Alexander Pope's famous lines: "Tis education forms the common mind; just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." . . . In the printed columns of the papers, as in a mirror, one could see how the human twigs of the atomic age are being bent. . . . Tiny mimics were active. . . . In Newmarket, N. H., a five-year-old lad imitated TV acrobats, dislocated his hip. . . . Tots relaxed with radioactive toys. . . . In Carteret, N. J., a subteen of nine played with a \$100,000 ball of radium until officials, with Geiger counters, located him. . . . The tendency of twigs to embrace the philosophy of escapism was observed. . . . Western escapists made news. . . . In Los Angeles, a lad of nine, scared because he was late for school, stowed

away on an airliner, flew to Texas. . . . In Downey, Calif., a lass of twelve, under parental orders to get rid of her dog, mounted the family horse, galloped into the hills. Five days later, a forty-man sheriff's posse located her. . . . Eastern escapists also hit the front pages. . . . Faced with the choice of sitting in a dentist's chair or running away from home, a Maywood, N. J., youngster of ten chose to run. Two days later, police found him hiding in a large bread box in a neighboring town.

Gangs of diminutive housebreakers stalked through the social scene. . . . In Baytown, Tex., a five-year-old burglar was captured in the act of ransacking a home. He told police he had been boosted through the window by four little fellow-burglars. . . . Pint-sized auto thieves explained car-stealing techniques. . . . In New York, an eleven-year-old boy told the judge how to manipulate the wires under the dashboard if one wishes to steal a car. The boy declared: "Sure, I steal cars. I stole my first one about six months ago, all by myself. It was easy. There were no cops around." . . . His older brother, going on thirteen, aided him in later thefts. . . . Subteen snipers roamed the range. . . . In Monticello, Ind., a seven-year-old marksman, armed with his papa's rifle, fired at a passing plane, nicked the pilot. . . . Plans for neighborhood explosions were reported. . . . A small New Jersey boy wrote to a soldier in Korea, requesting a supply of hand grenades. The boy explained: "I want to blow up the kid next door. He plays the bugle too much." . . . As time moved on, teen-age guns barked louder and louder. . . . In Wisconsin, an eighteen-year-old coed shot and killed herself. She had flunked in her studies. . . . In San Francisco, a seventeen-year-old boy fired a bullet into his heart. He had been rebuked in school. . . . In Smithtown, N. Y., an honor student of thirteen strangled his sweetheart of twelve. She had resisted his advances. . . . In North Vernon, Ind., a boy of sixteen shot and killed his little sister of four. Baby-sitting bored him. . . . In Minnesota, a boy of sixteen murdered his mother. She had been urging him to attend church.

Men and women still living can remember the times when children were not robbing and shooting and murdering on anything even remotely like the scale that obtains today. . . . The teen-agers of today are different from those of yesteryear. . . . Is the reason for the difference that God Almighty has been driven from the classrooms?

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### The independent vote

EDITOR: In Rev. Frank B. Costello's excellent review of *Let's go into politics* (AM. 7/12, pp. 382-383), he expresses the opinion that the growing number of independent voters is dangerous to our two-party system.

I heartily agree with him that we must preserve our two-party system, which has been the reason for much of our political success. But I do not feel that independents are a threat to this system. I believe that there are few real independents. Mostly so-called independents are really Democrats or Republicans who reserve and exercise their right to vote a split ticket or even to change over entirely, in any one election, for special reasons, for example to oust a corrupt machine.

I cannot see that independents will rise in such numbers as to present a serious threat to our two parties. Human nature is such that men tend to bind themselves to those that have a similar philosophy.

Rather, I can see more evidence that the independents are strengthening the two-party system in that they keep the pendulum swinging. One party cannot monopolize the scene for such a long period that the other will die of mere inactivity. I believe that such a phenomenon is taking place now. Many independents in the Democratic ranks favor Eisenhower, and their votes may swing the pendulum back. VINCENT F. JENNEMANN  
New York, N. Y.

### Catholics and UNESCO

EDITOR: Having recently completed a thesis on a Catholic evaluation of the Fundamental Education Program of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), it was indeed gratifying for me to read about Rev. André Rétif's commentary on this organization (AM. 7/12, p. 370).

As has been pointed out, the UNESCO program has serious shortcomings—shortcomings stemming from the organization's ignoring of Almighty God, His eternal law and mankind's common supernatural destiny.

Inasmuch, however, as the UNESCO program is a crusade for the improvement of human life and the foundation of world peace—ideals which the Church has long striven for—Catholics cannot ignore or be indifferent to UNESCO.

AMERICA is to be heartily congratulated for its contribution to this phase of Catholic action.

MARIE BARBANO  
Arlington, Mass.

### Chauvinism in church

EDITOR: I have followed with interest the editorials in AMERICA (6/28, p. 321; 7/5, p. 346; 7/12, p. 373) on the proposed revision of the immigration laws, and on the McCarran-Walter bill, now Public Law 414. I am in accord with your view that the old quota provisions were an un-Christian restriction on prospective immigrants from certain (predominantly Catholic) countries. I agree that the revised law does not correct that inequity.

You will recall that one of the arguments used by those who opposed liberalizing the quota features ran somewhat as follows: "The immigrants from those countries make unsatisfactory prospective citizens. They are clannish. They strongly resist assimilation. They refuse to use our country's language, and do not encourage their American-born children to speak it at home."

Let no one think that those arguments are without basis in fact. Consider this: the Catholic parish in this town has some 3,800 members, more than ninety-six per cent of whom are U. S. citizens. There is not one resident alien among us who comes from a country of which French is the only official language. Yet this is a French national parish, and our country's language is rigidly suppressed in all church activities. A similar condition exists in perhaps a dozen parishes in Maine.

A Catholic here must travel more than fifty miles to find a church which is not a French national church. He must travel more than twenty miles to reach a French national church in which the suppression of our language is relaxed to the extent that, at just one Sunday Mass, the announcements and sermons are in English.

Is this the only area in our country where such a situation exists? And, if we refrain from active measures to amend this un-Catholic policy, can we with clear conscience work toward the removal of quota restrictions while ignoring the very situation which caused the restrictions to be put in effect?

A. J.

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